THE EXAMINER.

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THE POLITICAL EXAMINER.

Party is the madness of many for the gain of a few. SWIFT.

No. 116.

STATE OF PARTIES.—EDINBURGH REVIEW.

(CONCLUDED FROM LAST SUNDAY.)

The logic then of the Reviewers amounts to this. The Reformists are ill-disposed and unconstitutional persons, Republicans, and Revolutionists, because—we *know* them to be so; but what they demand is perfectly constitutional, and they will cease to be ill-disposed the instant they obtain it:—the Whigs, on the contrary, are perfectly well-disposed and constitutional persons, because we *know* them to be so; but though they are the true "Constitutional Champions," they hinder the attainment of what is constitutional, and *so far* are in the wrong:—ergo, the Reformists ought *not* to "*mutiny*" as they do and "*desert*" the said "*Constitutional Champions*" who obstruct them in the attainment of what is constitutional; nor should the Whigs, on the other hand, treat the Reformists "*too* contemptuously" and "hate" them "too virulently," but condescend a little to "reclaim," and "repress" these sad fellows, who are so *mistakenly*, not to mention horribly, *in the right*.—Such anxiety for the production of facts, and such fine deductions in consequence, reminds me of a Venetian Preacher, who in comparing certain nuns with their patron Saint LAWRENCE, said to his audience,—"Were I of the sect of Nominalists, I should content myself with saying that they are *called* nuns of Saint LAWRENCE, and should leave the proof to the name; but for my part, I am a *Realist*." So saying, this *Realist* proves his comparison by stating, that Saint LAWRENCE is a sun which produces those stars, ergo, the nuns are stars,—that the Saint is fire, ergo this Convent is the Phœnix of Convents, &c. &c.*—But enough of jargon, and enough of the clearness, the precision, the developments, the explanations, the proofs, and the facts with which the Edinburgh Reviewers have established the existence of a revolutionary spirit—a spirit at once so obvious and so obscure, so wrong and so right, so ferocious and so easily to be won over. The article in question, I have no doubt, was written in a very hasty manner, most probably after the writer had been waiting as long as he could to see whether something favourable might not *turn up* in the House of Commons: he was disappointed and vexed, very angry with the Reformists for treating his friends so indifferently, and perhaps, reader, between you and me, a *little* ashamed at seeing his friends so unwise; therefore something must be allowed on the score of temper, which nothing inflames so much as being in the wrong or seeing an unworthy favourite worthily treated. It is but justice to the general character of the Review to say, that nothing so poor, so peevish, and so feeble has ever appeared in it before, and that a few more such articles would materially clip the wings of a circulation, which it's spirit and enlarged range of thinking have hitherto so meritoriously enjoyed.

If the Foxites, knowing it to be their duty, and at length finding it to be their interest, chuse to *return* to the reforming opinions which they formerly professed in the House, and *still do at elections*, let them at once join the Reformists, as the Edinburgh Politicians advise; but let them not join the Reformists with an affectation of condescension that would be disgusting, or with a "flattery" that would be preposterous. Let them frankly concede the matter; let them put in practice that hardest of all state-lessons, acknowledgment of error; and the Reformists will instantly do honour to their philosophy and policy. We cannot hear of "reclaiming" and "repressing" and overcoming by "flattery" those persons who have taken up the *neglected duties* of the Foxites:—we cannot hear of "this small, but most respectable band," who chuse to say to the multitude of those persons "you are wrong and must come to us:"—we cannot even allow these fine appellations of *Whigs, legitimate Whigs*, and *old Constitutional Whigs*, to be properly bestowed upon such men at such a time. The Reformists, as far as they can respect an ill-defined cant-term, respect the term Whig as applicable to the politicians who best understand the nature, and best pursue the interests, of our mixed Constitution;—who are for monarchy but not for tyranny, for the nobles but not for monopoly, for the people but not for licentiousness. The Reviewers truly observe, that "in the *better days* of the Constitution, this party formed almost the whole opposition, and bore no inconsiderable proportion to that of the courtiers." They add, somewhat obscurely, that "it might be said to have in it, not only the greater part of those who were jealous of the prerogative, but all that great mass of population which was *neutral* and *indifferent* to the contest;" and they proceed to say still more unfortunately, that "the new-sprung *factions* have swallowed up almost all this disposeable body, and have drawn *largely* from the ranks of the *old Constitutionalists*." (p. 313.) Another awkward and betraying touch of truth, as far as it regards the Reformists. How the court "faction," who are inclined to "arbitrary power," can have drawn into their vortex any of the "old Constitutionalists," I do not know; but that the Reformists have so done, and have well exhausted the

* S'io filosofo Nominale, me ne spedirei con dire, che Monache si chiamano di San Lorenzo, e si metterei la prova al nome: ma io sono de' Reali.—Primieramente San Lorenzo è sole, pianeta di fuoco, e il sole produce stelle, tali sono le Monache di questo illustre convento:—e gia che Lorenzo è fuoco, questo convento è la fenice de' cmventi, &c. &c.—See in the Appendix to M. GROSLEY's Travels in Italy, the whole of this sermon, perhaps the finest piece of systematic nonsense extant, with the exception of the creed attributed to ATHANASIUS.

stock, as a separate body, is easily perceivable from the nature of their present efforts against oligarchy and court-corruption In fact, the true Whig, the old constitutionalist, has become the Reformist. What the Reviewers advise the new Whigs to do out of "policy" and with "flattery," the old Whigs have already done out of a sense of their duty, and with an independence that courts nobody. Such a man is Mr. Curwen, who with indisputably good intentions brought in a "Bill to prevent the Sale of Seats in Parliament;"—but not such a man is Mr. Windham, who, as I have before stated, opposed that Bill "as the first step towards what they call Parliamentary Reform." Such a man is Lord Cochrane, who, after receiving the Order of the Bath which his exploits had won, dared an exploit still nobler and went to vote against the Court;—but not such a man is Lord Grenville, who no sooner gets into office than he uses it corruptly. Such a man is Mr. Whitbread, who always speaks for himself, who adopts nothing with which he differs and gives up nothing of which he is convinced, and who, in warmly taking up the subject lately before Parliament, fought the ministerial battle for the Foxites, when they had no orator left in the Commons to do it for them;—but such a man, by no means, is Lord Grey, who after being the prominent advocate of Reform when Reform was less necessitous, shrinks from it with a cold and silly hauteur when it's wants are most urgent, and who takes the first glaring opportunity to announce to the people his utter contempt of their feelings and his respect for one of the most corrupt and foolish personages existing. Such is the difference between the old Whig and the new, between the Constitutionalist and the Corruptionist. The old Whig cares not who holds the balance between court and people, so that it is properly and equally held;—the new Whig cares not how it is held, so that he holds it himself.

The Foxites will tell you, with a smile of triumph, that after all, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Curwen, and others, do not associate or make common cause with Sir Francis Burdett. And what then? If the Foxites intend this as a compliment to the moderation and acuteness of those Gentlemen, do they not see what a satire they are passing on themselves? The point is, not that Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Curwen, and other Whigs should associate with Sir Francis: association is not the desideratum: there is too much of the esprit-du-corps already among politicians, too much of confounding this party and that party with the nation, and sacrificing the many to the few:—the point is, that the old Whigs should advocate the cause of Reform, and this they do advocate, not perhaps so urgently or with so excited and just a vehemence as Sir Francis Burdett, for something must be allowed to the company they have kept. The smallest habit is sturdy and pertinacious, and retires at last inch by inch. But their confidence and exertions in the cause of Reform become stronger every day, and they will no doubt become still stronger, inasmuch as every succeeding day shews that corruption will be omnipotent, as long as Reform does not lift up a full, determined, and appalling face. Every day therefore, nay every *hour*, proving as it does the words of Sir Francis Burdett and leaving no room for doubt in the minds of thinking men, must bring nearer the two descriptions of old Whigs, those who have left the corruptions though not the company of the Foxites, and those who more prominently stand forward as unbending, or as the Reviewers call them, "violent" Reformists. The place and pension-hunters will find it difficult, very likely impossible, to coalesce with those who think that there ought to be no place but for the disinterested, and no pension but for the deserving: but honest and consistent Englishmen, men honourable in private and in public, and who have a right to talk of good, because they do good, will gradually, almost instinctively, unite: and I hope the day is not far distant, when a cordial co-operation will take place, not in private meetings or through private friends, but in public and on all great occasions, between all such men—between Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Coke, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Granville Sharpe, Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Samuel Romilly, &c. &c. not forgetting one who never forgets himself, the venerable Major Cartwright, who though old and little rooted to the world, stands fixed in the public estimation by the weight of his character, like the ancient oak in his native field;

Nec jam validis radicibus hærens
Pondere fixa suo est; nudosque per aëra ramos
Effundens, trunco, non frondibus, efficit umbram.—Lucan.

As to the charge of a revolutionary and republican spirit, it scarcely deserves a serious answer on the part of the Reformists, after the self-refuting inconsistencies exhibited by the Reviewers. We must have lost our senses indeed, if all the follies that undertook, all the horrors that accompanied, and all the despotism that has followed the French Revolution, cannot teach us the utter stupidity of an attempt to establish democracy—not to mention the examples in our own history, and the known ill-temper, vulgarity, and discord of all unmixed republican forms of government. If the Reviewers ever observe any thing in Mr. Cobbett's writings or Sir Francis Burdett's speeches that appears to them of an anti-constitutional nature, they may be assured that they could not lament such appearances more than the Reformists would do; but the truth is, that corruption has risen to such a pitch, and the Foxites have at the same time accustomed themselves to regard it in so petty a light, that the most natural warmth of speaking on the subject is apt to be construed by them into something very unwarrantable and alarming. *Recent events* will no doubt alter their feelings on this subject. The Reformists state fairly and freely what they want, and the Reviewers have truly repeated their wants—Retrenchment of Expenditure, Responsibility of Ministers, and Reform in Parliament:—and to say that the motives are wrong when the demands are right, is a cant fit only for those who are unwilling and *afraid* to grant these requests. The Reformists have as little desire as the Foxites, to be roused at midnight by the tocsin in order to sing hymns to Anarchy! They have no passion for seeing heads upon poles, for seeing the streets run with human blood, for seeing their friends and relations sent in a string to execution by some new Robespierre, for listening to every sound with anxiety, going to bed only to suffer a frightful wakefulness, and rising to continual days of turbulence and slaughter, days—for which Death refreshes himself in midnight orgies.——No: the Reformists would *prevent* all that *could* happen of such a nature in England, for though a mob is much the same all over the world, it is impossible, even setting aside the character of the English people, to think that such horrors could rise among us, just after what we

have witnessed in the neighbouring country. But that great and afflicting troubles will fall upon this nation, unless every proper method is used to restore the Constitution to it's purity, there can be little doubt; and these troubles are to be done away, not by charging each other with revolutionary principles, but by doing our best to bring back an order of things, in which such principles could afford no ground of alarm, were they really in existence. For my own part, as the writer of one of those "Weekly Papers" which the Reviewers accuse of a revolutionary and republican spirit, I do not think it necessary to contradict an assertion, which is refuted by the whole strain of thinking and writing, such as it is, that has always run through the *Examiner*. Neither shall I say any thing, upon the same score, in behalf of my readers, whose opinions, as far as they are regulated by or agree with mine, have the same unanswerable defence. As to any "ambition"—if it is necessary for a Weekly Journalist to defend himself against such accusations—I must plead guilty perhaps of some enormity on that head, for I am more anxious, I believe, than all the placemen put together, to maintain an honest reputation; I am also somewhat ambitious of doing all the little in my power to encourage a love of the arts, somewhat more of encouraging a love of letters, and a good deal more of acquiring the esteem of my friends;—but with regard to political ambition, or the attainment of even the smallest personal influence in political matters, it is as far from any inclination of mine as to be a dancer on the slack-rope, or make my head giddy in a round about. And so much for one of these desperate Revolutionists and Republicans, to whom a civil war is to be meat and drink. The poet tells us of a dreadful being, to whom

> A river or a sea
> Was but a dish of tea,
> And a kingdom bread and butter.

The reader would suppose this to be an anarchist with a vengeance! Yet it was nothing but a mouse, who used to be very studious in destroying a set of old maps—probably the same whom the fabulist represents as helping to set free a certain old lion entangled in a net—or one of those who according to Homer, had their country's weal so much at heart.

And now, after all these strange and needless inconsistences, what have they done for the Edinburgh Reviewers or for the country? They *would* probably have done nothing but unsettle some minds and irritate others, had not an event occurred which has rendered the whole article in question a work of supererogation. What it was, except haste, that induced the Reviewers to write as they did about the Reformists in No. 30, it is not easy to discover; but certain it is, that in the previous Review, No. 29, they had laid down certain doctrines, and made certain solemn promises, which the reader was rather surprised to recollect when he perused the scandal against the Reformers, and which the Reviewers, in their very short memories, may be apt not to recollect themselves, unless the passage be laid before them. Here it is:—

"It now remains to be seen, whether that Parliament, which stands in no need of reformation—which is a fair representative of the people of England—which speaks the sentiments of the country—will be satisfied with this set off; and once more acquit the Ministers of all blame for their recent mismanagement. Holding, in common with the Parliament itself, the doctrine of its purity and of its sufficiency to save the state, we cannot anticipate such a decision. But if, unhappily, we should find ourselves mistaken; if, again, every measure and every Minister be covered over with its approbation, then we will venture to predict, not that the government is acquitted, but that the Parliament stands condemned; and we shall most unwillingly be compelled to appear in the foremost rank of those who must acknowledge that they are convinced and converted; for it is needless to disguise the matter. A refusal to punish the authors of our misfortunes can only mean one of two things—either that there has been no blame incurred—or that it is inexpedient to declare it, because such a resolution would drive the guilty persons from the government. In the one case, the Parliament will shew that it is not the representative of the country; in the other, we shall have a conclusive proof that the Ministers of the Crown are irremovable. The responsibility of our Rulers, that fairest feature in the theory of the Constitution, will be no longer even a name, wherewithal to round parliamentary periods; *and the people will thenceforward recognize, in the great Council of the Nation, not the guardian of their interests, and the champion of their rights*, BUT A WELL CONTRIVED INSTRUMENT OF TAXATION."

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"What will then remain for the people to do, we need scarcely point out. If they value their personal happiness and national independence, they will watch over their rulers with redoubled jealousy, *and never rest satisfied until their efforts shall have restored the indisputable connexion between misrule and retribution.*"

Now the event has turned out, not as the Reviewers hoped, probably not as they thought, but precisely as they gloomily fancied it might. The Ministers—those Ministers, who have been wise in nothing and have accordingly failed in every thing, who have screened delinquency of the worst kind, and shut every door in the face of the public by which intrigue might be detected, who have tried to beat down the press, made a watchword of Popery, and a bye-word of Christianity, who have neglected India, oppressed Ireland, and disgraced England—those Ministers have gained a Parliamentary Majority in favour of the most lamentable, shameful, and deadly Expedition that ever disgraced this once thinking, this now unthinking nation. The Reviewers, of course, are "*convinced*" and "*converted*" according to the solemn and prophetic asseveration they made to that purpose, and they are hereby called upon to "appear," as they declared they would, "in the foremost rank of those who must acknowledge that they are so convinced and converted." I say no more. I do not even indulge myself, as a Reformist, in that triumph which, if we may judge by their late dealings, the Reviewers would be very happy to indulge over us. It is no time for triumph, when the enemy conquers both without and within the country. I call upon them as men of superior intellect, and of candour worthy of that intellect, to acknowledge their error.—My voice may be weak, but not so was the voice of their promises. My claims may be nothing, but not so are the claims which they must discharge to themselves, to truth and to the country.

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FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

VIENNA, MARCH 11.—The Prince of Neufchatel was received on the frontiers by Prince Esterhazy. In every place he passed through he found infantry under arms, and cavalry to escort his carriage, and the people flocked to see him with demonstrations of the highest joy. He arrived here *incog.* at ten in the evening of the 4th. He made his formal entry next day at noon, and had an audience of the Emperor and Empress. In the evening the whole of the Court assembled in the Hall of Apollo, where the Ambassador was received with acclamation. He conversed two hours with the Emperor in that immense hall, where upwards of ten thousand persons were present. On the 6th, the Ambassador received a visit from the Archdukes Charles and Albert. At noon, he had a second audience of the Empress, at which the Archduchess Louisa was present. In the evening there was a ridotto in a very spacious and elegant saloon, where there were assembled about five thousand persons of different ranks from the city, on the invitation of the Court. At one end appeared a transparency with the figure of Fame supporting the two Imperial Crowns, on which were the letters N. and L., the initials of Napoleon and Louisa. Under this was a winged Genius, uniting the arms of France and Austria, and decorating them with a crown of myrtle and laurel. The Empress entered the saloon, accompanied by the Emperor, who gave his arm to the Archduchess Louisa. All the Archdukes followed, and the whole party walked for half an hour with the Prince of Neufchatel. On the 7th, the Ambassador received deputations from the States of Hungary and Bohemia, the Nobility and the Bishops. On the 8th, took place the ceremony of the formal demand of the Archduchess Louisa. At six in the evening the Ambassador went to Court in full dress. On reaching the foot of the throne, he addressed his Majesty in the following terms :—

"SIRE,—I come, in the name of the Emperor, my Master, to demand of you the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, your illustrious daughter. The eminent qualities which distinguish that Princess have assigned her a place upon a great throne. There she will constitute the happiness of a great people, and a great man. The policy of my Sovereign accords with the wishes of his heart. This union, Sire, of two powerful families, will afford to two generous nations fresh assurances of tranquillity and happiness."

The Emperor, descending from the throne, replied :—

"I regard the demand of my daughter in marriage, as a pledge of the sentiments of the Emperor of the French, which I justly appreciate. My wishes for the happiness of the future spouses cannot be expressed with too much sincerity. Their happiness will be mine. In the friendship of the Prince whom you represent, I shall find highly valuable grounds of consolation for the separation of my beloved child. Our people see in it the certain pledge of their mutual prosperity. I grant the hand of my daughter to the Emperor of the French."

The Grand Chamberlain was then sent for the Archduchess Maria Louisa, who soon appeared, accompanied by the Grand Master and Grand Mistress of her Household. Her entrance was noble and majestic. On approaching the Emperor she made a low courtsey, after which, paying her respects to the Ambassador with a gentle inclination, she seated herself close to the Throne, on the left of his Majesty. The Ambassador then addressed her as follows :—

"MADAM,—Your august Parent has gratified the wishes of the Emperor, my Master. Political considerations may have influenced the determination of the two Sovereigns; but the first consideration is, that of your happiness; it is above all, your heart, Madam, that the Emperor, my Master, wishes to obtain of you. It will be delightful to behold the genius of power united on a great Throne, with those attractions and graces which render it beloved. This, Madam, will be a happy day for the Emperor, my Master, if your Imperial Highness should order me to inform him that you participate in the hopes, the wishes, and the sentiments of his heart."

With these words the Ambassador delivered into her hands a letter from the Emperor Napoleon, which having perused, she made the following reply :—

"My father's inclination has always been mine; my happiness shall always be his. In these principles his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon cannot but find a pledge of the sentiments which I shall vow towards my spouse; happy if I can contribute to his happiness, and that of a great nation. With my father's permission, I give my consent to my union with the Emperor Napoleon."

The Emperor, her father, having then permitted her to accept the portrait of the Emperor Napoleon, it was introduced upon a velvet cushion by a Gentleman of the Embassy, and at the desire of the Archduchess it was appended to her bosom by the Grand Mistress.

The Ambassador, immediately after this ceremony, had an audience of the Empress, whom he addressed in these words :—

"MADAM,—The Emperor, my Master, has specially charged me to testify to your Imperial Majesty all the sentiments with which he is penetrated towards you. He will soon feel all the obligations he owes you for the good example and the kind attention which the Archduchess Maria Louisa has received from you. She could not learn from a better model, to conciliate the Majesty of the Throne with amiability and the graces, qualities which your Imperial Majesty possesses in so eminent a degree."

Her Majesty replied :—

"At a moment so interesting to my heart, when I am fixing for ever the destiny of my beloved daughter, I am particularly delighted to receive from your Serene Highness the assurance of the sentiments of his Majesty the Emperor and King. Accustomed, on every occasion to conform my wishes and sentiments to those of his Majesty the Emperor, my dearly beloved spouse, I concur with him in his confident expectation of attaining the object he promises to himself from so happy an union, and also in the most ardent wishes which he forms for the future and immutable happiness of our dearly beloved daughter, which henceforth entirely depends on that of his Majesty the Emperor and King. Deeply impressed with the much too favourable opinion the Emperor and King has conceived of me, I cannot attribute to myself merits which are solely due to the excellent natural disposition of my dear daughter, and to the mildness of her character. I can answer for her that her only object will be be to gratify his Majesty the Emperor and King, and at the same time to conciliate the affection of the French Nation."

The Ambassador then repaired to another apartment, where he had a private audience of the Archduke Charles, to whom he said :—

"SIR,—The Emperor, my Master, having demanded from the Emperor, your illustrious brother, the hand of the Archduchess Maria-Louisa, has charged me to express to your Imperial Highnes the high estimation in which he would hold the favour of your being pleased to accept his procuration for the ceremony of the marriage. Should your Imperial Highness give your consent, I shall have the honour of presenting to you the procuration of my Master."

The Archduke Charles replied :—

"With pleasure, my Prince, I accept the proposition which his Majesty the Emperor of the French has been pleased to

transmit to me through you; equally flattered by his choice, as penetrated with the soothing presentiment that this alliance will efface even the last vestiges of political dissensions, repair the calamities of war, and prepare a happy futurity to two nations, made to esteem each other, and who do each other reciprocal justice. I shall regard that as one of the most interesting moments of my life, when, in token of an approximation equally frank and sincere, I shall present my hand to Madam, the Archduchess, in the name of the great Monarch who has delegated you; and I entreat you, my Prince, that to all France, you will be the interpreter of the ardent wishes I entertain, that the virtues of Madam, the Archduchess, may for ever cement the amity of our Sovereigns, and the happiness of their people."

The Ambassador then presented the Archduke with full powers, after which the Archduke conducted him to the apartment of his Majesty, where all the Imperial family were assembled, to proceed to a Grand Court Gala. The circle was numerous and brilliant, and the Archduchess, decorated with Napoleon's portrait, attracted every eye. ---On the 6th, at eleven in the morning, the Ambassador signed the contract of marriage, and received the dowry. At two o'clock he gave a grand entertainment. He afterwards held a Levee. At half-past five he attended the ceremony of the Archduchess's renunciation of her claims, as a Member of the House of Austria.—Yesterday took place the grand ceremonial of the orders; and this day, at six o'clock in the evening, the marriage of the Emperor Napoleon with the Archduchess Maria Louisa was celebrated in the Church of the Augustins.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

During the first four days of the week nothing of moment occurred in this House. On Friday Lord GRENVILLE moved that certain Papers, which had been printed and laid before the House, relative to Spain, should be consigned to a Committee of Secrecy, on the ground that these paper disclosed the names of certain agents and persons who might shortly be in the power of Bonaparte, if some of them were not already in his hands In these papers, too, Gen. Cuesta, was described by Mr. Frere as not only unfit for command, but that he was even more than suspected of treachery to the Junta; and that Blake and Albuquerque were the only officers in Spain capable of holding a command. Such indecent disclosures, said Lord Grenville, would lead to the most fatal results.—The motion was opposed by the Marquis WELLESLEY, who maintained the propriety of producing the papers, in order that the transactions in Spain should be fully understood by the House and the country. Spain, by her own weakness, had produced all the evils under which she suffered, and why therefore attempt to conceal them?—After a reply from Earl GREY, who asked why government had not used its influence with the Junta to prevent their putting 700 French prisoners to death in cold blood!—the motion was negatived, and the House adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, March 26.

LORD ERSKINE.

Sir J. ANSTRUTHER and Mr. SHERIDAN united in stating to the House that Lord Erskine was not in the Chair when the Resolution of the Lincoln's Inn Benchers, excluding Newspaper Writers from being called to the Bar, was adopted. He did not approve the Resolution.

SIR F. BURDETT.

A Mr. LETHBRIDGE, seeing Sir Francis Burdett in his place, rose to put a question to him, on the subject of a Letter which appeared in a well-known Paper of Saturday (*Cobbett's Register*) with the signature of the Hon. Baronet. He wished therefore to know whether that Letter and its accompanying Arguments, were written by him?

Sir F. BURDETT had no sort of hesitation in declaring that the Letter and the Arguments were written by him, and that the Proprietor of the Paper alluded to had his authority for their insertion.

Mr. LETHBRIDGE, after a short conversation, gave notice of a motion for to-morrow on the subject.

GOLGOTHA EXPEDITION.

Lord PORCHESTER then proceeded upon an analysis of the Evidence adduced upon the subject of the failure of the Scheldt Expedition, the details of which he feared would be "tedious" to the House and difficult to himself. Though he had minutely examined all the Papers before the House, he was quite at a loss to conceive what could have impelled the Planners of the Expedition to carry on such a system of war. His Lordship then commenced his labour of tracing the Expedition from its "monstrous birth" to the "horrible catastrophe," in a speech of four hours, through which it is not at all necessary to follow him, as the Evidence has been for some time before the Reader. He dwelt with much force on the opinions given by the Military Officers to Government on the Plan of the Expedition, four out of five of which were hostile to it. The Navy was then consulted. Sir H. Popham pressed the sailing of the Expedition by the 27th of June, because the season was then advancing in which they would have a most powerful enemy to contend with, —the elements. Instead however of attending to this advice, Ministers delayed its sailing till the 28th of July.—When Sir R. Strachan was consulted by Lord Mulgrave, that gallant officer informed his Lordship that nothing but the capture of Walcheren could be expected; notwithstanding which, Lord Mulgrave was of opinion, that "all would go on well." To be sure, there were a great many plans formed: the Noble Lord had his plan, the Admiralty had a plan, the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Perceval) had one, so had the gallant Admiral, (Strachan) all had their plans, except the Commander in Chief of the Expedition (Lord Chatham) and he, it seems, had no plan at all. When the armament sailed, it was first to take possession of Walcheren, and then proceed to the accomplishment of what was called "a second, ulterior, simultaneous, subsequent operation."—(*Laughing.*)—This was the taking of Antwerp by a *coup-de-main*,—a sort of Don Quixotte attempt, which appeared more like a romance than any thing else. The fortifications of Antwerp were by no means in a state of insecurity; every exertion had been used to put them in a complete state of defence. In fact, the Noble Lord (Castlereagh) on being questioned as to the information he possessed respecting Antwerp, declared that he knew nothing of its state; and even Lord Chatham's opinion was, that the possession of Antwerp depended much upon contingencies,—that the works had been repaired,—and that it could not be taken by a *coup-de-main*.—Sir W. Erskine had predicted the result of the Expedition before it left our shores. Sir David Dundas, Gen. Calvert, and Col. Gordon, all spoke of the great risk of the undertaking. Sir Eyre Coote thought success doubtful, so did the Marquis of Huntley.—Gen. Brownrigg had given it as his opinion, that the means employed were adequate to the object in view, and had stated that the enemy had found an army to defend it *by accident!!* No doubt some French soldiers, who were going *somewhere or other*, happened to stumble upon Antwerp as it was going to be attacked, and entered it just to see "fair play!"—He must say, that these fortunate accidents happened very often for the French; they had generally an army where they were wanted!—Lord Porchester then proceeded to comment upon the arrangements of Ministers, which alone, had their plan been a good one, would have wholly frustrated the object, and then adverted to the deadly climate of Walcheren, and the medical system adopted. Ministers did not consult one medical man till they were informed that 4000 troops were sick and in the most dreadful condition. Sir Eyre Coote and Mr. Webb made the most pressing calls upon the for aid, in vain; the poor fellows were languishing under th

most afflicting hardships; they were without cloaths and baggage, exposed to the inclemencies of the season in roofless hospitals; and had it not been for the supply of bark obtained from a Smuggler, the army must have perished!!—Yet after all this suffering, Ministers persisted in the retention of the island, which proved that private motives of interest had obliterated all feelings for the public. At this very period they were too busy in scrambling for place and power to think of their miserable fellow creatures in Walcheren. Austria had not required its retention. Last war, when its capture was spoken of, their only reply was,—"where is this island of Walcheren?"—They wished for some effort in the North of Germany; but Ministers made this diversion in their favour thirteen days after peace had been concluded between them and France!—On the whole, this Expedition was begun in ignorance, conducted in impotence, and had ended in immolating some thousands of the finest troops of the country.—The Noble Lord being exhausted, his Resolutions were read by Lord Temple;—they consisted of two sets, as follow:—

No. I.

1st. That on the 28th July last, and subsequent days, an armament, consisting of 39,000 land forces, 37 sail of the line, 2 ships of 50, 3 of 44 guns, 24 frigates, 31 sloops, 5 bomb vessels, 23 gun-brigs, sailed on the late Expedition to the Scheldt, having for its object the capture or destruction of the enemy's ships, either building at Antwerp or Flushing, or afloat on the Scheldt, the destruction of the arsenals and dock-yards at Antwerp, Terneux, and Flushing, the reduction of the island of Walcheren, and the rendering, if possible, the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war.

2d. That Flushing surrendered on the 15th August, whereby the reduction of the island of Walcheren was completed; and that, on the 27th of August, all attempt upon the fleet and arsenals of the enemy at Antwerp was, by the unanimous opinion of the Lieutenant-Generals, declared to be impracticable, and was abandoned.

3d. That the destruction of the basin, dock-yard, arsenal, magazines, and naval store-houses of the town of Flushing, and of such part of the sea defences as it was found proper to destroy, having been effected on the 14th of December, the island of Walcheren was, on the 23d of December, evacuated by his Majesty's forces, and the Expedition ended.

4th. That it does not appear to this House, that the failure of this Expedition is imputable to the conduct of the army or navy in the execution of their instructions, relative to the military and naval operations in the Scheldt.

5th. That on the 19th of August a malignant disorder shewed itself amongst his Majesty's troops; and that, on the 8th of September, the number of the sick amounted to upwards of 10,948 men.

6th. That it appears by the Report of the Physician appointed to investigate the nature and causes of the malady to which his Majesty's troops were thus exposed, that the disease is one which prevails periodically in the islands of Zealand, and is of peculiar malignity there, and which constantly follows a law of season, appearing towards the end of summer, becoming more severe in the autumnal months, declining in October, and nearly ceasing in November. That perfect recoveries are rare, convalescence never secure, and that the recurrence of fever quickly lays the foundation of complaints which render a large portion of the unfortunate sufferers inefficient for future military purposes.

7th. That of the army which embarked for service in the Scheldt, 60 Officers, and 3900 Men, exclusive of those killed by the enemy, had died before the 1st of February last, and on that day 917 Officers and 11,296 Men were reported sick.

8th. That the Expedition to the Scheldt was undertaken under circumstances which afforded no rational hope of adequate success, and at the precise season of the year when the malignant disease which has proved so fatal to his Majesty's brave troops was known to be most prevalent; and that the advisers of this ill-judged enterprize are, in the opinion of this House, deeply responsible for the heavy calamities with which its failure has been attended.

No. II.

1st. That Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote having, on the 9th of September, been left in the command of Walcheren, with an army of about 15,000 men, did, on that day, make an official Report on the State of the Island, the extent of force required effectually to guard it, the nature and conditions of its defences, and the number of men then sick and unfit for duty; representing that after such his exposition, his Majesty's Ministers would be the best judges of the propriety or possibility of keeping the island; and adding, that the advantages must be great indeed which could compensate the loss of lives and treasure which the retention must necessarily occasion.

2d. That on the 23d of September, Sir Eyre Coote stated to his Majesty's Ministers, that the alarming progress of disease was such, that if it should continue in the same proportion for three weeks longer (as he added there was every probability that it would), our possession of the island must become very precarious.

3d. That on 6th October Sir Eyre Coote, after stating that the number of sick was increasing, and that the effective force was thereby rendered so trivial, as to make the defence of the island, if it should be attacked, extremely precarious, did express his anxiety to be informed of the intentions of his Majesty's Government as to the future state of Walcheren.

4th. That notwithstanding these, and many other pressing representations, in the alarming condition of the troops, and the danger to which they were exposed, his Majesty's Ministers did neglect to come to any decision until the 4th of November, and that the final evacuation of Walcheren did not take place until the 23d of December.

5th. That on the 10th of September the number of sick in the Island of Walcheren was, exclusive of officers, 6,938; and that the total number of sick embarked for England, between the 15th of September and the 16th of November, was 11,199, making in that period an increase of sick of 4,268.

6th. That although the great object of the Expedition had been abandoned as impracticable, a large proportion of the British army was (without any urgent or determined purpose in view, or any prospect of national advantage to justify such a hazard, or to compensate such a sacrifice) left by his Majesty's Ministers to the imminent danger of attack from the enemy, and exposed during a period of more than three months, and under circumstances of aggravated hardship, to the fatal ravages of a disease, which on the 31st of August had been officially announced to be daily increasing to a most alarming degree.

7th. That such the conduct of his Majesty's Advisers calls for the severest censure of this House.

Lord CASTLEREAGH thought it was rather an extraordinary issue on which the House was called upon to decide; he did think it a singular course that the House should be called upon to pronounce sentence upon an Expedition which had not failed, as it had never been tried. (*Hear, hear!*) The latter part of it, he maintained, had never been brought to the test. It was a speculative question, whether it would have failed or not, and he was satisfied that the merits of the plan stood upon a rock which could not be shaken. Here his Lordship commented upon the military opinions given, and would not admit the principle that Government was bound to call for military opinions under such circumstances. Military men always made a distinction between those military opinions which they gave in formally in *writing*, and those in which they indulged in *conversation*. When a military case was put on paper, it was stripped of all probabilities and contingencies, and stated as strictly as a legal case would be to a lawyer. Opinions thus obtained were worth little or nothing. Nor had it been the practice of former Governments to obtain such opinions in writing; they had been had in this instance only because there had been a doubt respecting two opposite plans. It was by no means the duty of Government to abstain from sending out an expedition, because its object had been declared by military men to be of difficult attainment, or because the operations could not be distinctly ascertained and pointed out. The great Lord Chatham, when he sent out the expedition to Rochefort, which failed, left it to the Commanding Officer to

judge of its "practicability:" he was to proceed, as far as he deemed it "practicable," to the attack of Rochefort, and afterwards, if he deemed it "advisable," to the assault of L'Orient and Bourdeaux. In such cases, therefore, the only rational calculation that could be made by Statesmen, was, by balancing the chances of success with the dangers of failure—a calculation which must be made by Statesmen, and not by military men alone. Here Lord Castlereagh entered on a view of the military opinions given, and contended that they were not adverse to the *policy* of the Expedition. The destruction of the ships at Antwerp was certainly a prominent feature in the Expedition, but not the principal: it was connected with other objects. What was the state of the war on the Danube at this period? About four days previously to taking his Majesty's opinion on the Expedition, news had arrived of the battle of Aspern, in which Austria contended with 75,000 men against the French army of 100,000. The French lost little short of 50,000 men in this battle; and was it possible at such a moment to tell Austria that 40,000 British troops were of so little worth that they would be kept at home, and she must be left alone to decide the contest? Before this battle, France had drained the Low Countries. After a pause in the fate of France of six weeks, the battle of Wagram was fought, the news of which arrived only one day before the sailing of the Expedition. That the Expedition had operated as a diversion for Austria was too obvious to need argument: it compelled the French Government to evacuate four of the principal Prussian fortresses to make head against us, and it prevented a force from quitting Antwerp for the Danube at a time when the contest there was not terminated. It had been asked why the Expedition had not been sent to the North of Germany? But had an army been sent there, it must have remained during the winter, which was impracticable, on pecuniary and other considerations. He denied that the capture of Walcheren, with all the drawbacks attributed to it, was a contemptible conquest. By it the port of Flushing was destroyed, and the enemy's facilities there for coppering, careening, mending broken-backed ships, &c. were wholly annihilated for two years. As to the diseases of Walcheren, our ancestors had occupied Flushing and Brill for 30 years during the reign of Elizabeth; and it was to be recollected, that 12,000 men only were to have remained there; the rest were to have gone to Antwerp, a very healthy place. When the operations were undertaken, it was hoped that the ships in the Scheldt might have been destroyed before they reached Antwerp, of which there was at first a rational prospect. As it happened, it was one of those chances, the failure of which did not imply error. The advantages that might have attended the Expedition were fully adequate to the risk of it. The City, in its warmth of indignation, had stated the expence at no less than 15 millions! Yet, upon a fair and accurate calculation, the whole extra expence did not amount even to one million, which was comparatively cheap. As to the risk, Government had good information that the force of the enemy at Antwerp did not exceed 30,000 men of all descriptions; we had 35,000 troops, and the crews of our navy also; and he would ask then, whether we had not the fairest prospect of success? It had been asserted that it was absurd to suppose that Antwerp could be taken by a *coup-de-main*; but this he denied; both Sir J. Hope and Gen. Brownrigg thought it could be so taken, or by assault. We had in fact come upon the enemy by surprise, for till the arrival of the British armament, no effort had been made to put Antwerp in a state of defence. It was true, the enemy expected an attack in spring, but they did not know where it would take place.—His Lordship therefore contended that there was no ground for censure; he had done his duty; if Government had neglected the opportunity of creating a diversion for the Continent, and have permitted a great naval depot to have gone on improving, that Government would have disgraced itself. That there was great risk, he did not deny; but he was yet to learn whether the House would be willing to restrain the martial spirit of the country by rigid precepts of cold precaution or mathematical calculation. Was it, he would ask, by a consideration of risks—by a spirit of tame precaution, that Nelson conquered at Copenhagen, at Aboukir, and at Trafalgar?—*(Hear! Hear!)*—and was it under the influence of such a spirit that Wolfe ascended the heights of Quebec?—that Lord Melville sent an army to conquer in Egypt?—that Sir John Stuart achieved the victory of Maida?—or that our gallant troops produced the evacuation of Portugal? which, however Gentlemen might quarrel with the Convention of Cintra, must always be regarded as a glorious feat.—*(Hear, hear!)*—If the stiff hand of death were thus to lay hold of all our military enterprize, by the application of those rules which the Gentlemen on the other side of the House professed to advocate upon this occasion; if Parliament should impose such fetters upon military undertakings, then there would be an end to the prospect of national honour—then would France have reason to rejoice, for then, indeed, should we have committed a suicide upon our martial spirit—*(Hear, hear! hear!)*—If the Expedition to the Scheldt stood alone upon the policy of creating a diversion favourable to the cause of the Continent, he should have thought that quite enough to warrant the proceeding. He should, indeed, contend, that it would have been amply warrantable if it had nothing else in view than the destruction of a great naval arsenal of the enemy. But when both these important considerations were combined, the propriety of the Expedition was unquestionable. If Ministers had shrunk from it, they would have exposed themselves to the charge of preferring the tenure of place to the performance of duty, and of sacrificing important public interests to petty, personal considerations!—*(Hear! Hear! Hear!)*—The Noble Lord concluded by expressing his determination to vote against the Resolution which censured the policy of the Expedition.

Mr. Ponsonby rose amidst the cries of "Adjourn, adjourn!" and after speaking for a few minutes, consented to the wish of the House, that the debate should be adjurned till next day.—Adjourned.

Tuesday, March 27.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

Mr. Lethbridge rose to make his motion respecting the Letter of an Hon. Baronet, which had appeared in *Cobbett's Register*, deeming it as he did a gross violation of the privileges of the House.—(Here the Hon. Gentleman gave in at the table the last number of the *Register*, and after some discussion on the point of form, the Letter was read, which occupied the Clerk nearly an hour and a half.)

Lord Folkstone here observed, that it was necessary the Hon. Gentleman should point out the particular passages of which he complained, in order that his Hon. Friend might know what he was charged with.

Mr. Lethbridge had no objection to point out the passages which struck him as peculiarly offensive. The first passage to which he wished particularly to call the attention of the House, was the commencement of the Hon. Baronet's Letter to his Constituents (page 421 of the *Register*.) It was as follows:—

"The House of Commons having passed a vote which amounts to a declaration, that an Order of theirs is to be of more weight than Magna Charta and the Laws of the Land, I think it my duty to lay my sentiments thereon before my Constituents, whose character as freemen, and even whose personal safety, depends in so great a degree upon the decision of this question, a question of no less importance than this:—whether our liberty be still to be secured by the laws of our forefathers, or be to lie at the absolute mercy of a part of our fellow-subjects *collected together by means of which it is not necessary for me to describe.*"

He appealed to the House whether that passage alone would not have justified him in bringing the subject under their consideration?—*(Hear! Hear! Hear!)*—It was followed by others, which he would proceed to read; the first of which (page 425), after asking why the House, if they could send whom they pleased to a jail in London, might not send their prisoners to York jail, confine them in solitary cells, or load them with chains and bolts, the Hon. Baronet said,

"They have not gone these lengths yet; but what is there to restrain them if they are to be the sole judges of the extent of their own powers, and if they are to exercise those powers

without any controul, and without leaving the parties whom they choose to punish any mode of appeal, any means of redress?"

"That I deny," says Mr. Lethbridge.—*(A laugh.)*

The next was from the conclusion of the Address, which terminated in those words:—

"In doing this, I shall do all that now remains in my power towards the correction of this, as I deem it, most enormous abuse of power, and most dangerous of all encroachments upon the rights and liberties of Englishmen."

The next passage was from that part of the publication which was entitled the Argument:—

"Had I not been prevented by indisposition from being present when the House of Commons passed by vote a sentence of imprisonment on Mr. G. Jones, I should have endeavoured to show, that under the false notion of privilege, they were exercising a power, and committing an act of oppression ill suited to the character of guardians of public liberty, and destructive of the first and most important objects of the Constitution, viz. the personal security of the subject."

The next passage was that commencing with the following words:—

"Founded on such a basis, fortified by such authorities as I shall have occasion to appeal to in the progress of this inquiry, I have little doubt of being able to convince every impartial mind, that the House of Commons, by proceeding to judgment—passing a sentence of imprisonment—issuing a warrant of commitment—has gone beyond its prescribed limits, acted in a manner inconsistent with the ends of the institution, and violated the fundamental principles of the Law and Constitution of the Land."

The next passage was—

"By proceeding thus, they have exercised a jurisdiction not vested in them, a jurisdiction beyond the limits of the King, Lords, and Commons, while Magna Charta remains unrepealed; and repealed it never can be till England shall have found her grave in the corruption of a House of Commons."—*(Loud cries of Hear! Hear! from the Opposition.)*

The next obnoxious passage was that subsequent to the Speaker's warrant:—

"Let this instrument, this thing, *sui generis*, be contrasted with the description of the properties of a legal warrant.—Does it not evidently appear, that this piece of unsealed paper, signed by the Speaker, by which an untried subject has been outlawed, bears no feature of legality? and that, from the commencement of this proceeding, in its progress, and to its conclusion, there is not one step that has not been marked in a peculiar manner with disrespect for the laws? a disrespect in which all the parts have been wonderfully consistent throughout, in constituting the most unlawful act the mind of man can possibly conceive."—*(Hear! Hear! Hear! from the Treasury Bench.)*

Mr. LETHBRIDGE now called the attention of the House to a passage, which he thought would of itself substantiate all complaint; it was this:—

"The commencement of this usurpation was when they (the House of Commons) got rid of the Upper House of Parliament, and cut off the head of the King. *They still, it seems, are emboldened to retain an illegal power, not pretended to even by the King*, but which these local sovereigns over the King claim as of right. But no wonder, when they have so entirely departed from the ends of their institution, as was offered to be proved by Mr. Maddocks, and acknowledged by themselves, in the never-to-be-forgotten morning of the 11th of May, 1809, when, from being the lower or inferior (for it is the same sense, one being an English, the other a Latin word), branch of the Legislature, they have become the proprietors, by bargage tenure, of the Representation; and in that capacity, inflated with their high-blown fanciful ideas of Majesty, and tricked out in the trappings of Royalty, think privilege and protection beneficial to dignity, assume the sword of prerogative, and [illegible] *over the King and the People.*"

The [illegible] on which the complaint was fo[illegible]lling upon that Honourable House to vindicate itself from a series of unjust and unjustifiable aspersions, and punish the violation of their privileges in what manner might, to their wisdom, appear most fitting.

A pause ensuing, the SPEAKER remarked, that the course of proceeding was, after a complaint had been made, and after the complexion of that complaint had been ascertained, to hear the Honourable Member against whom it had been preferred.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT said that the Hon. Member (Mr. Lethbridge) must point out the nature of the charge. There was to his (Sir Francis's) mind no charge in the extracts which had been read from his Address to his Constituents. That Address contained all of argument that he knew on the subject, and he could now add nothing to those arguments. The Address was his. The arguments which it contained were his; he was ready to see them subjected to the most rigorous inquiry; but till he should hear from the Honourable Member something in refutation of his principles, he could not undertake their defence. Was it to be supposed that the simple act of arguing on the powers of the Commons was a crime? Would not the House endure even an abstract doubt of their powers? This doubt was the entire of the charge hitherto adduced; if a stronger one lay behind, it must be brought forward before he could be expected to meet it by an answer. He was willing to abide by the fact and the argument of that paper; he would stand the issue, but if it were even the pleasure of the House that he should now withdraw, he was ready to withdraw.—*(Cries of No, No, from the House.)*

Mr. SPEAKER,—"This is the form of proceeding; an Hon. Member states his complaint to the House; the Hon. Member who is the object of the complaint, is then heard in reply; he admits, or repels, or denies the statement. It is the custom that he should then withdraw, and it becomes the part of the Hon. Mover to submit a motion founded on the subject of offence, to the House. It then becomes a matter of debate, as any other motion may, and may be carried, or amended, or annulled, at the discretion of the House. It ceases to be interfered with by the Hon. Member whose conduct has furnished the complaint. This is the form of Parliamentary proceeding; the old, unchanged, and, I hope unchangeable form."

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT then withdrew.

The SPEAKER informed the Hon. Mover (Mr. Lethbridge) that the time was now come for him to prepare his motion, as the Hon. Baronet had withdrawn.

Here some conversation took place between the SPEAKER, Lord FOLKSTONE, and Mr. PERCEVAL, as to the form of proceeding.—After which

Mr. LETHBRIDGE rose to state the grounds of his charge. The task he had undertaken was painful and difficult, but however painful or difficult it was, he felt himself called upon to bring forward the question. He had, however, no object but to state briefly the two resolutions which he meant to propose. These, he trusted, would be adopted by the House. They must, if that House wished to save its own character, and that of Old England. He spoke from the bottom of his heart. He wished the Hon. Baronet to hear him—*(a laugh, and hear, hear, hear!)*—He was convinced that if the House had any regard for its character, it would put a stop to such proceedings as they had witnessed of late. He had heard things stated in that House, *which had made his hair stand on end!*—*(A laugh.)*—He could assure the House that the feelings of horror with which he heard it stated, that "*in the opinion of the public the reputation of that House had not a leg to stand upon*," had produced that effect upon him. He trusted that such proceedings would be effectually put a stop to, and with that view he should propose the following Resolutions:—

"1. That the Letter signed Francis Burdett, and the further Argument, which was published in the Paper called *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, on the 24th of this instant, is a libellous and scandalous paper, reflecting upon the jurisdiction and privileges of this House.

"2d. That Sir Francis Burdett, who suffered the above articles to be printed with his name, and by his authority, has been guilty of a violation of the privileges of this House."

A Mr. BLACHFORD seconded the motion. If the House should not vote this production a slanderous and libellous paper, it would not shew a proper regard to its own dignity. How could they hesitate, when they recollected the spirit of *Jacobinism* which existed in the country; whose numbers, whether in leaders or disciples, were but few, but whose object it was to dispute and bring into discredit the character of that House? If this spirit should not be checked in time, it would not only take away the *dignity*, the *character*, and the authority of that House, but destroy the very existence of it as a branch of the Legislature.

Another conversation here took place respecting the time for debating the motion. Mr. PONSONBY moved that the discussion be adjourned to this day se'nnight. This was opposed by Mr. PERCEVAL, who proposed that the question should be brought forward to-morrow, as it was a question which took precedence of all others.—To this Mr. WHITBREAD objected, as there was at this moment a most important discussion pending, on a subject highly interesting to the public. It was not his intention to impute to the Right Hon. Gentleman any design to bring on any other question to interfere with the progress of that in which he was so deeply concerned.—*(Hear! Hear!)*—He could not suppose it that Right Hon. Gentleman's wish to give precedence to another question with any view to distract the attention of that House, and of the public from the subject, which had occupied so much of both.—It was at length, on a division, carried, that the discussion should be resumed to-morrow.

GOLGOTHA EXPEDITION—ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Mr. PONSONBY replied to Lord Castlereagh, and adverting to his Lordship's allusion to the great Lord Chatham, whose plan against Rochefort had failed, said, he believed there really was some difference between the Noble Lord and that great statesman; their services were not exactly of the same nature, and there was also some little difference in their rate of talents. Lord Chatham had reduced the enemy to the lowest state of humiliation; and might well be pardoned one false step.—Here Mr. Ponsonby entered upon statements which proved that our force, available for the siege of Antwerp, amounted only to 22,000, while the enemy had 35,000. But the Noble Lord said that the Expedition had not been fairly tried. Did he mean to say that the *execution* had defeated the *plan?* Were the Generals wrong in retreating? If after the 26th of August nothing could have been done, he called upon the Noble Lord to state what was the cause that prevented something being accomplished before that period? As to Austria, she required no such exertion on our part. Her demand upon us was to send troops to the North of Germany.—The Noble Lord, in his speech last night, was in mode, manner, and deportment, much more like one who had been performing some great service, or was listening to some thing pleasing and entertaining, than one in the situation he was placed in. He was as gay, and light and cheerful, as if he had not sent out a great armament which had failed in its objects, and which had sent so many brave men to their graves. *(Hear!)* He spoke of his discharging a pleasant duty, boasted of his standing on the foundation of a rock, and asserted that he should only have been culpable if he had not sent out the Expedition *(Hear!)*. His feelings must surely be different from those of all other men *(Hear!)* He was deeply responsible for the sacrifice of so many gallant men in his fantastic scheme, in opposition to the opinions of every naval and military man whom he consulted! He was told of that worst of enemies the weather, and yet he sent out his armament a month after the time mentioned to him by Sir Home Popham! The first Lord of the Admiralty kept pace with him, and having no clear and discreet view of his subject, told the gallant Admiral with perfect ease, "Go on, I dare say you will do very well!!!" *(Hear, hear!!!)*—The Noble Lord has said it was necessary to raise the military character of the country. What! was not the military character great before this ill-fated Expedition? Was it raised by the result of the attempt upon Antwerp? He never heard of such presumption?—Says the Noble Lord—What! would you blame the exertion of that spirit and daring which Lord Nelson displayed at Copenhagen, and made him place himself between the enemy and the shore at Abonkir? Did the Noble Lord mean to institute a comparison between Lord Nelson and the person he placed at the head of the Expedition? The Noble Lord seemed disposed, if the House would listen to him, to throw the entire failure of the Expedition upon the naval and military Officers who commanded; upon a General selected by himself.—The House was, in some measure, responsible for the failure of the Expedition, because they continued the Noble Lord in a situation for which he was totally unfit. They had multiplied proofs of his incompetency. They had the disgraceful Convention of Cintra; they had the calamitous Expedition of Sir J. Moore before their eyes. The Noble Lord had been so often pardoned, that he thought he might commit another offence with impunity. If the Noble Lord was right in his expedition, why did his colleagues carry on a dirty intrigue against him? It seemed as if they were anxious to get the Expedition out, for the purpose of getting the Noble Lord out. It seemed as if they foresaw its failure, and knew that the author of it would consequently be sacrificed. Unfeeling as they were from habit, bold from ignorance, and confident from impunity, they sported with the lives of thousands of the bravest men in the world. He trusted that the House would never skreen a miserable Cabinet, whose rash and ill-digested plans had inflicted such accumulated calamity and disgrace on the country.

Gen. CRAWFORD defended the conduct of Ministers in sending out the Expedition, and contended that the destruction of the Antwerp fleet alone was a sufficient motive.—After many other observations, the Hon General concluded with moving, as an amendment, that after the word "that," all the rest of the original Resolution should be left out, and the following two substituted:—

"That this House, taking into consideration the extreme importance of destroying the extensive and increasing naval means and arsenals in the Scheldt, where a considerable navy had been already constructed, which was *growing* with great rapidity, and to a formidable extent, and also taking into consideration the expediency of making a diversion in favour of Austria in the critical state of the war on the Continent, at the period of the undertaking of the Expedition:—Considering also, the probability of success arising from the reduced state of the forces in the neighbourhood of the Scheldt, is of opinion that his Majesty's Ministers were justified in applying the naval and military means in a manner which combined a great national object with the prospect of affording essential assistance to our allies in advising the undertaking of the Expedition, notwithstanding the difficulties with which it seemed to be attended—difficulties which have appeared to the House to have been increased to a degree not to be provided against, by a state of wind and weather altogether unusual at that season of the year, which was most unfavourable to the projected operations.

"That this House sees with the deepest regret the loss of valuable lives, which, by the diseases of the climate, has been occasioned in that unhealthy situation; yet taking into consideration the great and acknowledged importance of the Island as a naval station, and the necessity of rendering it, in case of its being abandoned, as little available to the enemy as possible; and also, taking into consideration the state of the negociations between Austria and France, and the grounds possessed by Ministers of renewing hostilities, that the retention of the Island of Walcheren was likely to effect both these objects; and considering also, the time which must necessarily elapse under any circumstances before the Island could be evacuated, the House is of opinion, that no blame can be attributed to his Majesty's Ministers for not having at an earlier period ordered the evacuation to take place."

Mr. HERBERT (of Kerry), Mr. MARRYATT, and Sir J. HALL, followed in defence of Ministers, and at a late hour the Debate was again adjourned.

Wednesday, March 28.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

Mr. SHERIDAN moved the order of the day, on the charges

against Sir. F. Burdett. He admitted that it was a question of great importance. The Hon. Baronet had taken upon himself to deny the power of the House to commit in any case, and this denial was accompanied by very strong, perhaps unjustifiable, observations, in his Letter to his Constituents. But as to the accompanying Arguments, if they were merely a repetition of the Hon. Baronet's speech in that House, he did not see that any complaint could be entertained, as the Speaker would certainly not have permitted any improper observations to have been made in that House. The question, however, could not possibly be decided in a moment, and he should propose as an Amendment to the Resolutions before the House, that the Letter and Arguments be referred to a Committee of Privileges on Wednesday next, who should report thereon to the House.

Mr. BRAND thought the Debate should be adjourned. It had long been a question how far the power of the House was limited. The question had been often agitated, and much difference of opinion existed. Time should be granted to consult authorities upon so momentous a question. Mr. Hargrave had distinctly stated, that the House of Commons ought not to exercise any authority where the case was remediable in a Court of Law. A libel was remediable in a Court of Law, and if the Hon. Baronet's language was deemed libellous, a Court of Law was competent to redress the evil. The Hon. Baronet had alluded to the manner in which the House was *collected together*; he had frequently urged this charge in the House, a charge founded in evidence produced during the last Session. It would certainly be matter of astonishment, if what was generally admitted as the universal language last Session, should in this be deemed a libel on the House! There was one passage in the Hon. Baronet's Letter he would not defend, where he speaks of the House of Commons as "lording it equally over the King and the People." But except this, he could see nothing in the publication which was not synonymous with what had repeatedly fallen from the Hon. Baronet in that House; and the right of a Member to convey to his constituents what he had urged in Parliament, was yet to be investigated. At all events, this was not the moment to distract the attention of the House, occupied as it was by a question of the utmost importance. But Ministers were happy to catch at any opportunity to divide the attention of the House and of an indignant People.—He concluded by moving an Amendment, that the debate be adjourned till to-morrow se'nnight.

Mr. LETHBRIDGE would not consent to adjourn the debate.

Mr. CURWEN, if compelled to vote, should vote against the Resolutions, though he thought the conduct and language of the Hon. Baronet merited severe reprehension. But the House was not in a situation to go into the question, and time should be allowed, if its dignity was consulted.

Mr. OWEN was quite astonished that any Amendment should be proposed, after hearing the doctrines of the Hon. Baronet. The passage alluded to by the Hon. Gentleman was so grossly libellous, that it alone would justify the Resolutions.

Mr. WHITBREAD observed, that when the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval and my Lord Castlereagh were charged with a breach of privilege, *(Hear! hear!)* the Right Hon. Gentlemen said they were not prepared to enter on their defence, and five days were allowed them in consequence. On another occasion, too, when my Lord Castlereagh was charged with an attempt to barter seats in that House, an amendment was made by the Secretary of State for allowing his Lordship time for his defence. Looking to these facts, he would ask, *to whom was the degradation of the House of Commons to be attributed? (Loud cries of hear! hear!)* At the commencement of the present administration, the House was threatened with a dissolution, if they did not adopt certain measures; and this dissolution actually took place. He would therefore again ask, to whom was the degradation of the House of Commons of England attributable? *(Hear, hear!)* For his own part, he had not had time to read the Papers, much less to weigh with due deliberation their contents. This affair was a sort of Godsend to Ministers, and fully exemplified the observation that they were catching at straws like drowning men. Many things, however, happened between the cup and the lip: a great many things occurred between the halter and the gallows. *(Some sensations were here observed on the Treasury bench.)* The Hon. Gentleman need not be alarmed; he was certainly not entitled to the honour of being beheaded, *(a laugh)*, but accidents did happen in the most critical cases. One Hon. Gentleman had expressed his fears that delay would endanger the safety of the Constitution, which reminded him of the *late* Mr. Yorke, now most happily provided for! This was one of the legacies left by the Teller of the Exchequer, from whom the House was so properly relieved, and who was now made a man of consequence by favour and not by right. But he would refer to the bench of Lawyers opposite, *(the Treasury bench)*, whether it was consistent with the laws of evidence in Courts of Law, that a decision be made without giving time to weigh the facts? Mr. Jones had made a submissive apology at the bar of the House, and the affair might well have ended there. He had heard the argumentative speech of the Hon. Baronet, and he would not say that it had made no impression upon him; he found nothing reprehensible in that speech; but he was wrong in not making a specific motion on the subject: and he had also to complain that the Hon. Baronet had introduced matter into his publication which he had not noticed in his speech. This however did not affect the main point. If they did not adjourn this question, they would that night be called upon to pronounce the Hon. Baronet guilty. Those might do so who had no doubts upon their mind—but all those who doubted must acquit. He had voted for Mr. Jones's enlargement, not as a matter of right, but upon the fact of his submission and the extreme lightness of the offence itself. Had that question, agitated in the British Forum, been passed by, it would have been succeeded by some other upon love or marriage, or both, in Napoleon; and perhaps the Teller of the Exchequer would not have met that warm reception with which he had since been favoured by his friends at Cambridge.

Sir J. YORKE said, in answer to that part of the Hon. Gentleman's speech that alluded to his relative (Mr. Yorke), that he begged leave to tell that Hon. Gentleman that the late Mr. Yorke, as he had called him, had before his departure left his legacy behind him. He had left with that House a legacy of sound constitutional knowledge, and manly political integrity—a legacy that would be as valuable in the eyes of that House, though left by a Teller of the Exchequer, as any that might hereafter devolve to them from a brewer of bad porter. *(A loud and general cry of "order! order! chair! chair! take down the words.")*

Mr. WHITBREAD said, that he was anxious to assure the House that he felt himself no farther affected by what had fallen from the Hon. Gentleman, than in having any imputations thrown upon his fair dealing as a tradesman; and to that he would only say, that the Hon. Gentleman had no right to hold him out as a brewer of bad porter, if he had never tried it. He suspected he had not; and he now requested of him to do him the honour to buy one cask of his porter—he would take care it should be good—and he hoped that the Hon. Gentleman and the Electors of Cambridge would have no objection to take a cup of it to the health of Mr. Yorke. *(Hear, hear!)*

Lord MILTON, to order, said, that for the preservation of decency in the proceedings of that House, he felt himself compelled to move that the words of the Honourable Gentleman be taken down.

Mr. WHITBREAD earnestly expressed his anxious wish that a matter of such trivial import would be allowed to proceed no farther.

Mr. CROKER said, that if a motion of censure had been moved upon what he allowed to be intemperate language, he doubted if the House would have cheerfully adopted any rigorous measures against a sudden sally of fraternal feeling. He then proceeded, after complimenting the good humour manifested by an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Whitbread), to comment upon the "Argument" of Sir F. Burdett. He said that the paper was filled with observations he had never dared to utter

in that House. The Hon. Baronet had questioned the exercise of their most ancient privileges—privileges that had existed in the oldest times of that House, *(No! No!)*, he repeated it, and he must be convinced of the contrary by other than monosyllabic arguments; the right of exercise of an undoubted privilege had been denied, an exercise that in the case in question had been resorted to without one dissentient voice; there were many passages in that paper which if clothed in tasteful and gentlemanly language would not have been so grossly offensive, but there were others, betraying equally unconstitutional principles and corrupt taste in them; the style, bad as it was, was the smallest fault. Here Mr. Croker cited several of the passages already quoted, which he pronounced as in the highest degree libellous upon that House.

Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY said, that the House were Judges in their own cause, though they were Judges from necessity, and therefore time should be allowed to consider the subject. When it was considered that numerous meetings throughout the country had on many grand public questions unanimously differed with the decisions of that House, he was not prepared to say that the nation was wrong, and the majority in that House right. He was not prepared to say that the publication was not a libel, but he entertained doubts about it. Any man has a right to discuss every great constitutional question, whether of power or of constituted authority. He might shew his folly in arguing a point in which no other man would agree with him, but still he had a right to do so. There might be inflammatory language in the paper in question, but, at the same time, it was argued with great ability, and all the great authorities and precedents on the subject were given and argued on with great learning. This was a grave argument, and God forbid that any man should be precluded from discussing such a subject. The paper said that the right assumed to themselves by the House was contrary to Magna Charta; and Gentlemen objected that many parts of it were conceived in strong language. Why should there not be strong language in arguing a question of great consequence, involving the rights of the Public and the Constitution of the Country? There were offensive paragraphs in the Paper, but he could not view them in the mischievous light in which some Gentlemen had been induced to conceive them. The paragraph in which the House is stated to "assume the sword of Prerogative, and Lord it equally over the King and the People," had been particularly dwelt on, as containing matter highly objectionable. He could hardly view it in this light. The Hon. Baronet might perhaps take offence at his observation, but he could not help conceiving the paragraph as altogether nonsense. As to mischief, he could not conceive how it could arise. It was impossible that the idea of that House lording it over the King could produce any injurious effect. Could any person, not an idiot, or fit to be sent to a mad-house, be deceived by such an idea? Where had that House ever encroached on the royal prerogative? They were called on to vote this a libel, in a very singular situation. For, if this was the law of the House of Commons, a man can be punished by this House when he has not been heard. This was not the law in any Court in the kingdom.

Mr. PERCEVAL contended that the publication was a gross libel. His Honourable and Learned Friend had said, that the House ought to distinguish between manner and matter. He agreed in this; but he should shew that the publication was libellous in both respects. He did not deny what his Right Hon. Friend so properly claimed for the Hon. Baronet, and for every person else, the legality of canvassing any act they might think proper. But did it follow, because Gentlemen had the right of canvassing every question they chose in that House, the Hon. Baronet had a right to send it to his Constituents, to challenge them to investigate the point, and in a manner to call on them to resist the decision which the House had come to? He conceived he could satisfy his Hon. and Learned Friend that this was a libel. Here the Right Hon. Gentleman quoted the passages brought forward in the debate, commenting upon them as he proceeded, and contending that the House had a right to comit for breach of privilege. In a solemn proceeding in the year 1701, it was decided that to pretend that the House had not the jurisdiction of imprisonment on others as well as its own Members, was a high breach of their privileges; and that to publish libels reflecting on the House of Commons or its Members was also a high breach of privileges. In the case of Crosby and Oliver, writs of Habeas Corpus were refused both in the Common Pleas and Exchequer, on the ground that the House had a right to commit for breach of privilege; and a similar authority was to be found in the King's Bench, in the time of Lord Kenyon, who then stated that when evil disposed persons attempted to overturn the country, they would begin by calumniating the Courts of Justice, and both Houses of Parliament: He thought that time was now come. In comparing the present libel with that committed by Gale Jones, the latter must appear insignificant indeed; and should that House be more indulgent to a Member of its own than to a stranger? In the one, they proceeded immediately; and in the other, should they adjourn from time to time? If they did so, they gave that Hon. Baronet a triumph, and they would shew that they deserved to be trampled on and trodden under.

Lord FOLKSTONE said, that the Right Hon. Gentleman had thought proper to allude to that assertion of Lord Kenyon, that when factious men wished to subvert the Government, their first effort was to calumniate the Courts of Justice, and to entrench upon the privileges of Parliament. Really (said Lord Folkstone), above all men, I did not expect to hear such an allusion, much less such an application, from that Right Hon. Gentleman. Does he, or can he believe, that because he conceives this House to have the power of restraining the communication of the popular opinion, upon the conduct pursued within its walls, that he therefore can deprive the people of these kingdoms of the faculty of thinking or of recollecting? Does he believe, when he cites the violation of our privileges as a proof of disaffection and of treason, that the people of England have forgotten the transactions of the two last Sessions of Parliament? Can they forget the spectacle exhibited to their view, of two Cabinet Ministers, charged, and I will say morally convicted, of a gross and heinous attack upon those privileges of this House—privileges for which, forsooth, one of them now affects to feel such sincere solicitude? Can the people of England forget that though such violations were not denied, still that the conduct of the accused was not only not censured, but almost not questioned by a British House of Commons?—*(Loud cries of hear, hear!)* When then the country recollects such events, and when this House cannot forget them, what confidence, what attention, can be paid to such application relative to its privileges, proceeding from that very man who was a few short months past arraigned before that very House as a culprit for their violation, and who, though rescued from punishment, has still no claim to acquittal? *(Hear, hear!)* It is idle to say that the people of this country have no very anxious feelings upon the present subject. I for one never can wish that their voice should be stifled. Therefore it is that I appeal to this House for that postponement of its decision, which will allow the fullest investigation of this most important question, and which must ultimately settle the legality or illegality of this power.

Mr. ADAM was satisfied that time should be allowed to consider this important question.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL contended, that there could be no discussion now upon the right, the House having decided upon it in the case of Mr. Jones. That right being admitted, it was, in his opinion, absolutely impossible not to consider the publication as a gross violation of its privileges.

Mr. BATHURST expressed himself friendly to the proposition of adjournment.

A Member challenged the Right Hon. Gentlemen opposite to deny that the Resolutions last night moved against Sir F. Burdett were not of Treasury manufacture—*(Hear, hear!)* He would go further and challenge the Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to deny if a meeting was not convened at his House, to consider, discuss, and decide upon these Resolutions, which in the person of an independent County

Member were to be offered to the consideration of that House? *(Loud cries of Move! move!)*

Mr. LETHBRIDGE, in speaking to order, asserted, that his Resolutions originated with himself.

Mr. R. DUNDAS said, that as to the assertion that the Resolutions before the House were prepared at the Treasury, he could declare for himself that he knew nothing about them until they were read in the House; nor did he believe the assertion.

Mr. WILBERFORCE declared that no man was more firmly convinced than himself that the privileges of that House ought to be maintained; for he thought these privileges essential to the benefit of the people. But he did not think that these privileges were to be blown away with a breath; that they could not withstand an attack without adopting sudden and precipitate means of defence. He therefore saw no danger in acceding to the proposition of delay upon this occasion, in order that the House should have the fullest opportunity for deliberation.

The MASTER of the ROLLS had read the paper, and he was of opinion, that it was a clear libel upon that House. Many who required time for consideration, would, he had no doubt, entertain the same opinion, if that opportunity were afforded. He, therefore, would vote for the adjournment. Whatever the House felt in this case, Gentlemen must be aware that they were acting as judges in their own cause, *(hear, hear! on the opposition benches)*, and therefore he always thought that, although those privileges were never to be formally relinquished, they were yet to be very discreetly exercised.

Mr. PERCEVAL would confess, that after what he had heard from his Learned Friend, it would appear obstinate and pertinacious in him to press an opinion, to which, however, he still unfortunately adhered, and refuse to accede to the repeated calls which were made for a further adjournment of this question. *(Hear, hear, hear!)* He wished it to be understood, that his only reason for assenting to the Adjournment was, that delay was required. One word as to the cheers of the Gentlemen on the other side. Those Gentlemen professed a wish of unanimity, and yet when that disposition appeared, they exulted in it as a species of triumph. With this short remark he would leave those Gentlemen to enjoy their triumph.

Mr. PONSONBY said, that as to the Right Hon. Gentleman's allusion to our triumph, he really rates himself too high and us too low, if he supposes that there is any thing in his conduct or character which should make us feel elated by any triumph over him.

The Amendment was withdrawn, and upon the question being put for adjourning the debate till to-morrow se'nnight, some Noes were heard, but the Speaker declared that the Ayes had it. Mr. Lethbridge declared the contrary, and a division was called for. Before, however, the whole of the strangers had withdrawn, Mr. Lethbridge withdrew his opposition.—Adjourned.

Thursday, March 23.

GOLGOTHA EXPEDITION—ADJOURNED DEBATE.

General TARLETON ridiculed the idea of the Expedition being designed as a diversion for Austria, for all hopes entertained by that power had vanished even before its sailing. To believe that the expense of such an Expedition had been only 900,000l. as stated, would exhibit stupidity in the extreme. The expense occasioned by it would be found to reach at least 3,000,000l. On the whole, the conduct of Ministers was pre-eminently guilty and disgraceful. To want of policy they had added the cold cruelty of detaining our brave soldiers in a most pestilential spot, after all idea of keeping possession had been given up. These crimes were incontestibly proved by the documents before the House.

Mr. ROSE contended that the bare object of occupying Flushing would alone justify the Expedition. Lord Nelson had himself said, after his attempt on Boulogne, "We must constantly guard our coast. Flushing is my grand object. To take Flushing would be a week's expedition with 5000 or 6000 troops. I should be happy to lead the van to Flushing or the Helder, if the plan is approved of by Government."—This opinion had been corroborated by Captain Owen and others; and the vast importance of Flushing would one day be seen.

Lord POLLINGTON severely censured the conduct of Ministers, and maintained that it was not in our power to have retained the island of Walcheren, from its contiguity to the main land.

Lord G. GRENVILLE argued that the blood of the country had been spilt without any advantage either to Austria or ourselves, and Ministers ought to be made to answer for the failure of the Expedition.

Mr. W. FITZGERALD said, that Ministers knew well the difficulties of the enterprize, and that they risked their places by it; but to them that was a minor consideration. A diversion had actually been created. Gen. Brownrigg approved of the Expedition, and he was a man of great abilities. He should consequently support the Amendment.

Mr. GRATTAN thought the attempt on Flushing, had it been properly planned, would have been justifiable, but the retention of Walcheren was by no means advisable. In sending out the Expedition, no notice appears to have been taken of time and events. Austria was at peace when it sailed, and yet it was intended for a diversion in her favour! The Expedition went out, it should seem, merely to be doing something. He did not think the plan would have succeeded at any period; so thought Sir W. Erskine. With the exception of Gen. Brownrigg, every Officer opposed the measure; all agreed that there were no hopes of success, and yet Ministers most blindly followed their own suggestions, without plan, without knowledge, without arrangement. And thus, after waiting till the enemy was fully prepared, they set out to take Antwerp by a *coup-de-main!* a thing wholly impracticable. The Expedition, in fact, died in its birth. What possible excuse can there be for men who suffered an army of 20,000 men to continue in Walcheren amid disease and putrefaction, at the very moment that in Spain the ranks of our heroes were also hourly thinning by an epidemic malady? "In my conception of public delinquency," said Mr. Grattan, "there can be no conduct more reprehensible than that of Ministers, except indeed the conduct of *this House*, if it should be so forgetful of its duties as not to condemn them." *(Hear, hear!)*

Mr. CANNING said that the idea of this Expedition had long been contemplated by various administrations, and even if it had not been calculated to produce any advantage to Austria, our own interests alone would have justified the undertaking. This system of attack had been particularly recommended by the Noble Lord who preceded him in office. As to the plan of sending an Expedition to Trieste or the North of Germany, it was preposterous in the extreme. The Scheldt was chosen as the best point of attack, for various reasons, though that of co-operation was certainly not one, for no such thing was ever expected, as had been falsely asserted in the *Moniteur*. Ministers had every reason to believe that the enemy were not in strength in that quarter, and in fact, their sudden calling out the gens-d'armes, &c. was a proof that they were taken in an unprepared manner. But the difficulties were much talked of, as if Government were to undertake nothing of difficulty. The difficulty was *merely* that of taking the place by surprize, before regular troops could arrive for its defence. Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom had been taken by surprize, as well as many other strong fortresses. A book had been published by certain French mathematicians to prove that a project was mathematically impossible: they did prove it, and yet the thing was really accomplished. As for military opinions, both Lord Chatham and General Brownrigg thought the plan was a good one: it failed from causes which no human wisdom could controul. Had Cadsand been taken, there was every reason to expect success; but this was prevented by wind and weather. Gentlemen only looked one way: they never censured Bonaparte for his failures, though his attack on Acre, and his occupation of the island on the Danube, were condemned by military men.—The enterprize

had failed; but it was not a necessary consequence that blame should be imputed to the projectors of it. As to the unwholesomeness of the climate, that argument would go to our giving up our West Indian colonies, for they were also unwholesome. Walcheren commanded the Scheldt, and Ministers might well have hesitated before they could consent to give up so useful a position.—He must therefore vote against the Resolutions; and he could not imagine that the House would render responsibility so heavy as to crush all enterprize in future.

Mr. WHITBREAD was satisfied that the Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Canning) was beyond all comparison more responsible for the failure of the Expedition than the Noble Lord (Castlereagh), for after having informed his Sovereign that the Noble Lord was unfit for his station, he had suffered him to proceed to the conclusion of the disastrous Enterprize!—Louvois, Minister to Louis XIV. when in disgrace, advised his master to go to war, to divert his attention from the cause of that disgrace, thus exposing thousands of human beings to destruction in order to prevent his own dismission. Could no such charge be brought against the Right Hon. Gentleman? But the Right Honourable Gentleman complains that no outcry is raised against the military errors of Bonaparte. The reason was obvious. They could not bring Bonaparte to the bar of that House, though they could the Hon. Gentleman and his colleagues. There was some difference too in the matter: Bonaparte managed his plans himself, because he thought he was *competent*; but the Right Hon. Gentleman left his colleague to undertake the Expedition, knowing that he was *incompetent* to perform it.—Ministers talked a good deal of the cruelty of exciting the people of the North to resistance, as an excuse for not sending the Expedition to that quarter. Oh, these tender lambs! Are they the same beings who committed those horrors at Copenhagen!—It was true that during the former administration an Expedition to the Scheldt had been recommended; but it was prudently avoided, while the present Ministers foolishly prosecuted it, and for its failure he (Mr. W.) called upon the House most solemnly to avenge the nation. The Noble Lord (Castlereagh) had said that Military opinions were like legal ones, and that after an advocate had given you advice not to purchase an estate from deficiency of title, the counsel would himself go and buy the property. Good God! what rogues of lawyers his Lordship must be acquainted with, that he thus esteemed the profession! Sir W. Erskine's opinion was slighted, because they said he had no experience; but a young man without experience was at least as good as an old one without it; and yet they had appointed Lord Chatham to the command of 40,000 men, though he had only been once entrusted with a command. Here Mr. Whitbread very pleasantly alluded to some observations upon General Crawfurd's speech, which he had listened to till he fell asleep, and was only roused by the merriment excited by the gallant General's exclamation of "By G—d, he would take Bergen-op-Zoom!" which reminded him of my uncle Toby's campaignings.—The Noble Lord would wish to call over the French Emperor to bear testimony in favour of his arrangements, but "he was married, and could not come;"—"and may that marriage," said Mr. W. "be productive of general felicity, by leading to that peace which France has so often attempted in vain to establish with this country."—As to the retention of Walcheren, it was impracticable from the beginning. Its unhealthy state was well known. Look to the evidence of Capt. Puget on this subject, and also to that of Sir Lucas Pepys, who made such a curious exhibition before that House, by first stating that he knew nothing of hospital diseases, and then explained his meaning by saying, that he knew nothing of the "internal" arrangements of hospitals! As well might a man be supposed to look into a pair of empty jack-boots, in order to ascertain the state of the legs which once wore them. The Noble Lord (Castlereagh) had to be sure afforded every preparation for the Expedition. Even the City Staff was there. The good City of London was represented by the jolliest of her Aldermen, who went to Deal, and was the last person with whom the Noble Lord parted; and what a tender parting! The Noble Lord stood upon the shore saluting the jolly Knight, and catching his last sighs:—

"Adieu, he cried, and wav'd his lily hand."

The envious winds interfered, and the Alderman and the turtles were wafted to the wished-for port! *(Loud laughter.)* "Last night I looked for him," said Mr. W. "when an allusion was made to the expence at which the City estimated the Expedition; but he was away. Another City Baronet was there; I really do not know his name, there are so many of them; but he may be known, as his face is less round and less ruddy than the other. Indeed there is no distinguishing those City Representatives—three of them are there huddled on the same bench, all Baronets, and all elevated for *unheard-of* services." *(Peals of laughter!)* He must, however reluctantly, take leave of the Hon. Baronets.—Did the House know any thing of the present state of the gallant troops returned sick from Walcheren? Did they know how few of them were ever likely to return to the service? One fact he knew, which shewed the fatal effects of the distemper. Out of 120 picked men of a light company of the Guards, not one man was now fit for duty, it being still necessary that those who survived should be nursed like children! Such was one consequence of an Expedition, that was to have been effected by a *coup-de-main!* For the retention of Walcheren he certainly believed the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Canning) was most to blame; for by throwing the apple of discord among his Colleagues, he produced such a degree of confusion in their councils, that rendered them unfit for any measure of Government. In fact, when they recovered from their confusion, the island was evacuated. Mr. Whitbread concluded a very animated speech, by conjuring the House to attend to the prayers of the sick and the dying—of the widows and the orphans produced by this unfortunate Expedition—of the united voice of the Empire—against the authors of such an unparalleled calamity. The call for JUSTICE was unanimous, and let justice be done. The *punishment* of those who had created such an enormous evil was a duty due to humanity and to the country. The honour of the living, and the memory of the dead, called for vengeance upon the guilty authors of this disastrous Expedition.—Adjourned.

Friday, March 30.

Sir T. TURTON (the debate on the Expedition being resumed) went into the subject at some length, and argued that as Ministers were now on their trials, it was quite proper that they should abstain from voting in their own favour, which would be contrary to every principle of justice. He would put it to their own honour, whether they ought not to retire? —*(A laugh from the Treasury Bench.)*—Had he been so charged and so circumstanced, he should be ashamed to do otherwise.

Gen. LOFTUS was of opinion that Ministers were bound to undertake the Expedition, under the actual circumstances of Europe, and its failure was solely attributable to the weather.

Sir F. BURDETT took an animated view of the whole question, and was convinced that the House knew nothing of the calamitous state of our army, owing to the abominable Expedition. It was in fact reduced to a mere shadow. Ministers knew nothing whatever of the places where the Expedition was going, and both the General and Admiral were also in a state of ignorance. The conduct of Ministers called for *Impeachment*, yet they appeared to be wholly unmoved at the tragedy, which had cost the country three times the number of lives that had before fallen since the war commenced! He should support the Resolutions, though they did not go the proper length. The Commanders of the Expedition ought to be tried by a Court Martial, and the Ministers impeached. Their dismissal would not alone satisfy the country. Nothing could satisfy it but A CHANGE OF SYSTEM. No good would be done till they returned to the first principle of the Constitution. *All our misfortunes and disasters were owing to the* WANT OF A FAIR REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN THAT HOUSE. Had that been the case, the country would not now be lamenting the loss of so many valuable lives in an Expedition planned by ministerial craft,

and which had failed from its own inherent rottenness. Nothing would satisfy him but the punishment of the guilty. It was not to be borne with patience that our countrymen should be sent out to almost certain death, in a manner very little short of direct murder! They had indeed met it without complaint; but their cause was the cause of justice, of humanity, and of their country.

Mr. BATHURST maintained that the Expedition had been badly planned and arranged, and should receive the marked censure of the House.

Mr. PEEL, on the contrary, was of opinion that the Expedition was well and wisely planned, and had failed in consequence of events over which Ministers could not possibly have any controul.

Mr. PERCEVAL took a view of the subject, contending that Ministers had planned the measure upon a full conviction of its policy; and had the military officers examined been possessed of the same information which Ministers had, they would have been of the same way of thinking. It was the first duty of Ministers to check and destroy the growing maritime power of France, and that power would have been annihilated by this Expedition, but for the unfavourable state of the wind and tide at the critical moment in which Cadsand was about to be occupied. Had Cadsand been taken, Antwerp must have fallen, with its fleet and arsenal,—a blow which France could not have recovered for years. The retention of Walcheren was perfectly justifiable on every ground of policy; Ministers had paid every possible attention to the sick there, and there was no reason whatever to charge them with want of humanity. In this protracted debate, the Opposition had recourse to invective instead of argument. Their sole object in fact was to get the Ministers out and themselves in, which *they*, no doubt, would say, was a good thing for the country, though he had another view of things, and thought that its true interests required that the opponents of the present administration should be kept out of power. The present question was not to be left either to Ministers or to their regular opponents; but to the good sense, the justice, and liberality of the House at large, without reference to party-feeling; and so left, he had no doubt but Ministers would be most honourably acquitted. So valuable indeed was the possession of Walcheren to this nation, that his concern was inexpressible when he found it impolitic to hold it any longer.

At the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Perceval was loudly cheered by his friends in the House. The House then became very clamourous for the question, and after a short speech from Mr. R. DUNDAS in favour of Ministers, and from Mr. BROUGHAM against them, a division took place on the first set of Lord Porchester's Resolutions, when there appeared for the original motion, 227—against it, 275—majority for Ministers, 48.—A second division took place on the amendment of General Crawfurd to the first set of resolutions, which went to an approbation of the conduct of Ministers on the policy of the Expedition; when the numbers were, for the amendment 272, against it, 232, majority in favour of Ministers, 40.—A third division then took place, on Lord Porchester's second set of Resolutions, which went to censure Ministers for the retention of Walcheren, when there appeared, ayes 224—noes 275—majority for Ministers, 51.—The Resolution that no blame was imputable to the army or navy, was carried *nem con.*—A fourth and last division then took place, upon the amendment approving the conduct of Ministers in the retention of Walcheren, in which the ayes were 255—noes 232—Leaving A MAJORITY OF TWENTY-THREE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN FAVOUR OF THE GOLGOTHA EXPEDITION, in every respect!!!—At half past 7 in the morning, the House adjourned till Monday.

TUESDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

R. Birkett, Gloucester-street, Queen-square, tailor, from March 31 to April 17.

BANKRUPTS.

G. Harrison, Manchester, merchant. Attorney, Mr. Birkett, Bond-court, Walbrook.

A Castle, Furnival's-Inn, money-scrivener. Attorney, Mr. Hill, Rood-lane.

H. Moore, Ratcliff-highway, victualler. Attorney, Mr. Fothergill, Clifford's-Inn.

J. Davies, Hereford, corn-factor. Attornies, Messrs. Browne and Pinniger, Gray's-inn-square.

J. Fairfield and J. Buckley, Liverpool, merchants. Attorney, Mr. Blackstock, Poultry, London.

N. Clonhey, Liverpool, provision merchant. Attorney, Mr. Meddowcroft, Gray's-inn.

W. Chapman, Beverley, Yorkshire, linen-draper. Attorney, Mr. Hall, Beverley.

G. Raby, Great St. Helen's Chambers, merchant. Attorney, Mr. Druce, Billiter-square.

F. Wagner, Uxbridge, clothier. Attornies, Messrs. Gale and Son, Bedford-street, London.

T. Bennet, Liverpool, merchant. Attorney, Mr. Windle, Bedford-row, London.

J. Morris, Marple, Cheshire, boat-builder. Attornies, Messrs. Willis and Co. Warnford-court.

C. Dalley, Manchester, lace-manufacturer. Attornies, Messrs. Willis and Co. Warnford-court.

T. and T. Whitehead, Failworth, Lancashire, cotton-manufacturers. Attornies, Messrs. Willis and Co. Warnford-court.

SATURDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

W. Bennett, Ludworth, Derbyshire, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

T. Luke, Exeter, Devon, brewer. Attorney, Mr. Loxley, Cheapside.

R. Smythe, Tottenham, Middlesex, money-scrivener. Attorney, Mr. Winbolt, Fore-street, Cripplegate.

F. Phillips, Shaftesbury, Dorsetshire, shopkeeper. Attorney, Mr. Durnford, Shaftesbury.

J. Hamilton, Bristol, merchant. Attornies, Messrs. Smith, Bristol.

S. Holt, Manchester, grocer. Attornies, Messrs. Pass and Reddish, Altrincham, Cheshire.

J. J. Littlejohn, Gosport, mercer. Attorney, Mr. Cruikshank, Gosport.

C. De la Hoult, Birmingham, Spanish Leather-dresser. Attorney, Mr. Hill, Shrewsbury.

PRICE OF STOCKS ON SATURDAY.

Consols.....68 ⅞

THE EXAMINER.

LONDON, APRIL 1.

The question of privilege, started by Mr. GALE JONES, has been taken up and will be tried, in a more summary manner, by the House of Commons, in consequence of Mr. LETHBRIDGE's motion against Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, for writing his opinions on the subject. Some of the Members, with a haste proportioned to their want of judgment, would have decided the question immediately; but the thinking part of them, and among them Sir SAM. ROMILLY and Mr. WHITBREAD, requested time before they gave their opinions, which at present seem favourable to those of Sir FRANCIS. Mr. LETHBRIDGE is a weak man, who tells us that his hair sometimes stands on end to hear the Baronet talk. A facetious correspondent anticipates the

nest of porcupines which St. Stephen's chapel would exhibit were corruption to meet with the same sensitive acknowledgment, and advises the Hon. Alarmist to wear a wig. Doubtless, much good would accrue to patients of this kind, were they to have their heads shaved; but there are other attractions for a lively scalp besides alarm. The Ministers wanted a little breathing time while their opponents were in such hot pursuit, and Mr. LETHBRIDGE and his hair rose immediately to do them this piece of service. —So have I seen certain vivacious atoms, called steel filings, strart up on their ends upon a piece of white paper, to the great astonishment of the little boys round it, who never ceased admiring till they found out the magnet or *attractive metal* below, with which the cunning operator provoked the said atoms to stand on end.—The Ministers found the usual advantage from the delay, which as it suffers the warmth of the moment to cool, allows time for self-interest to rally and to be talked, or talk itself, out of it's doubts. The town knows the subsequent event on the Walcheren discussion. The home-truths of Sir F. BURDETT, and the sparkling satire of Mr. WHITBREAD, were of no avail: —the Ministers had a majority in each of the four divisions, the final one a majority of 23, small enough indeed to shew the real state of the matter, but quite large enough to shew the corrupt state of mens' minds and the lamentable state of a country so governed. Of this more hereafter. The only advantage to be derived to the country from the event is the certainty that nothing can now be done but by strenuous, ardent, and peremptory Reform. If the people of England will not be satisfied of this truth now, or rather if they will not take the trouble to look at it, they deserve to be stricken by Providence with a physical petrefaction equal to that of their minds, and to die, like the people in the tale, each in the careless and intoxicated attitude in which his destiny overtook him.

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A Dover Letter positively states, that a Flag of Truce was seen on Friday night off that port.

Private letters and papers from Barbadoes were received yesterday to the 11th ult. It appears that the necessary diminution of the garrison at Martinique, for the purpose of the Expedition against Guadaloupe, had induced the prisoners of war, and several of the inhabitants, to rise, with the view of seizing Fort Edward; but their plot was however suppressed by the timely vigour of Gen. CARMICHAEL, who on the 5th ult. had been apprized of their intention. The discovery was made at the moment when the Star sloop was working out of Fort Royal Bay, but was recalled, and assisted in counteracting the treacherous design.

Dispatches were on Thursday received at the Admiralty, from Sir A. COCHRANE, communicating intelligence, that the Dutch Islands of Saba, St. Martin, and St. Ustatia, had surrendered to his MAJESTY's forces without any opposition.

The Privy Council have refused the application for building a third Theatre.—Parliament, it is hoped, will determine otherwise.

The readers of the *Examiner* will this week allow the Editor a liberty which he is very scrupulous of taking—that of not criticising the new play. But it is really so utterly despicable, and withal so unintelligible, that it is unworthy even of ridicule. The Pit, on the first night of the representation (Thursday) unanimously rose at the conclusion and damned it, and notwithstanding the contemptible puffs about "great applause" to which the play bills have not scrupled to resort in the present instance, it is trusted the audience of to-morrow night will follow up the verdict so properly pronounced at first.

MR. SINECURE YORKE.—WESTBURY, MARCH 25.—Yesterday came on the election of a Member of Parliament for this ancient Borough, in the room of Mr. ———, who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—It having been rumoured that we were to have the honour of returning Mr. Yorke, of *excluding notoriety*, at an early hour a great number of people had assembled at the Market Place, from this town, and the adjoining populous villages, with the determination, that although they could not exclude him by voting, yet they were resolved to oppose him by every means in their power.—Accordingly when the Gentleman who is returned, whom we understand to be a Mr. DE PONTHIEU, arrived, and attempted with his friends to proceed to the Town Hall, the usual place of Election, they were opposed by force, a shower of stones, sticks, &c. soon obliged them to retreat to the Abingdon Arms Inn, and it was with great difficulty the mob could be persuaded that Mr. YORKE was not here; appearances were at one time so serious, that the Riot Act was read, and the Warminster troop of cavalry, and a troop of horse in Trowbridge Barracks were immediately sent for. —Mr. YORKE may now eat his *cheese parings* with what appetite he can! after this contemptuous expression of dislike from a Rotten Wiltshire Borough, and in a town where the inhabitants in general have as little to do with the Election of a Member of Parliament to represent it, as in the choice of a Pope, and trouble themselves as little about it.

NEW EMPRESS OF FRANCE.—The following is said to be an extract from a private letter from Vienna:—"The world is widely mistaken in supposing that the young Archduchess Louisa Maria is about to be led like a lamb to the sacrifice. She was herself the prime mover of NAPOLEON'S marvellous attachment, the whole ambition of her soul having been directed to enslave by her charms the Conqueror of the Universe. She has succeeded to the extent of her ambition, and within a few days will be invested with an Imperial Diadem. At this moment she is gay, even to wildness, but she can be affected by various passions. I have seen her weep; I have seen her frown; and in an instant become mild and amiably condescending; in these felicitous moments, her voice is fascinatingly melodious.—In figure, she is a little below the middle size, gracefully formed in the neck and shoulders, with a complexion of the most delicate whiteness; a nose somewhat inclined to the Roman; eyes of the most brilliant hue, and a profusion of shining flaxen hair, that reaches nearly to the ground; her hands and feet most delicately shaped; her lips are truly Austrian; however, when opened by a smile, they discover a set of teeth most beautifully arranged and exquisitely white."

A violent storm has occasioned the loss of many ships of war and transports, chiefly Spanish, in Cadiz Bay.

The late Treasurer of the Ordnance has quietly taken himself out of the country, without the least hindrance from Government. He is deficient in the enormous sum of upwards of Eighty-three Thousand Pounds, all taken from the pockets of a distressed, injured, and insulted people!

THE OPERA.

Sir,—With a most friendly participation in each other's fate, Signor Guglielmi and Signor Buonaiuti seem determined to walk hand in hand to oblivion, and have accordingly, by the collision of their genius, produced another Opera, as destitute of every particle of common sense, as of every pretension to good musical composition. This fresh instance of their incapacity has been entitled *Atalida*, and is not, as might naturally be supposed, a mutilation of Racine's celebrated tragedy, but a combination of Signor Buonaiuti's superannuated ideas, which seem to be arranged mechanically, like the books of the Laputians, that were manufactured, without the assistance of genius or study, by jostling words together in a frame, from which they were selected for publication in the order that accident had placed them. The *Athalia* of Buonaiuti is a hostage at the Court of the Sultan of Damascus, residing in his palace, privately married to his son, and rearing her family under his roof, with such profound secrecy, that many years elapse without a discovery. At length an exposure takes place, and the Sultan, with a most deliberate coolness, thinks he cannot do less than doom his son to death, and poor *Atalida* to confinement in a dungeon, without any companions but decaying skeletons. Even here the miseries do not end, for the Sultana, in most dutiful imitation of her husband, resolves to give a specimen of her taste for the terrific, and politely waits upon *Atalida* in prison, to offer her the pleasing alternative of seeing her children butchered before her face, or of drinking a cup of poison. Both these offers *Atalida* is willing to decline, but upon being pressed, she accepts the latter invitation. Things are now at the worst, when a most unexpected change of fortune takes place; the Sultan suddenly relents, the poisonous dose is discovered to be perfectly harmless, and *Atalida*, in perfect health and spirits, is restored to her husband, and to the favour of her father-in-law. Such is the Opera which the Daily Papers have extolled beyond all bounds, and concerning which they have not scrupled to assert that Madame Catalani's performance is equal to the noblest exertions of Mrs. Siddons! That such an assertion should appear in the *Post*, we can excuse on account of it's insanity; but that a respectable Paper, like the *Chronicle*, should sanction such misrepresentation, reflects little credit on it's Editor. This Gentleman has lately proved that he possesses good sense, and can therefore only have been induced by some interested motive to deviate so widely from truth, and insult, by the comparison, the greatest actress, perhaps, that the Stage ever produced. If a deaf man was to be present at the performance of Madame Catalani, he would, from her gestures and countenance, pronounce that she was performing a comic character, for joy is the only passion she attempts to express; even the dose of poison is drank as unconcernedly as if it was a glass of lemonade, and the threatened death of her husband and children are absolutely treated as very comical circumstances. If comparisons must be made, I am inclined to place Madame Catalani's performance in tragedy upon a level with Miss Tidswell, rather than with Mrs. Siddons; and even then I fear I may be guilty of injustice towards the English performer.

H. R.

BRITISH INSTITUTION.

Erratum *in our last, page* 191.—For the word *grace* in the line "nobly formed Gladiator, every part of whom is energy and *grace*," substitute the words "*manly beauty*."

4. *Sampson breaking his Bonds*, G. F. Joseph.—This piece exhibits so much vigour of talent, and such a rapid advance of its author in his noble art, that I regret that the limits of the paper will not permit a minuter detail of its merits. It conveys the incident it describes faithfully and forcibly to the mind, and accomplishes the great end of painting, which is to captivate the imagination, satisfy the judgment, and engage the heart. I do not hesitate to say that it is well worthy of a place in the good collections of British Artists, and contains the germ of superior excellence. The subordination of all the secondary parts to the main object, a prime object in every work whether of Literature or Art, rivets the attention on *Samson*, the hero of the piece. This is judiciously occasioned by his animated attitude, his supernatural strength, and size, by his receiving the greatest mass of light, and by the eyes of the surrounding figures being fixed on him. His attitude, though animated, shews the ease with which, by a mere expansion of his arms, he breaks the bonds. This proof of his undiminished strength, the indignant turn of his head towards the Philistines who were insidiously approaching to slay him, and the resentful flash of his eye strike astonishment and terror into his enemies, who precipitately retreating from the threatening danger, overturn each other in their dread, and in the hurry of their flight. His figure exhibits much skill in myology, and that of *Dalilah*, round, graceful, and delicately tinted, the luxuriant charms of a seductive wanton. The piece on the whole is well coloured, but might admit a little more richness. The quantity of white drapery, with the grey in the back ground and floor, and the profusion of flesh have rather too great a predominance of their respective hues, which, however, might easily be remedied by a little dash of other tints. The penciling is firm, and possesses that medium which pleases from its neatness, without the least offending by being elaborated, as Dutch common life subjects so properly are.

R. H.

The excellent plan proposed by the Calcographic Society for the Encouragement of the Art of Engraving, has received the high sanction of his Highness the Duke of Gloucester, whose love for the fine arts reflects as much honour on his taste, as his moral worth and manners do on his heart; a worth which shines more conspicuously by contrast with some other Princes.—Sir J. Leycester and Mr. T. Hope also merit the thanks, not only of the Society, but the Country, for their zealous espousal of a plan so conducive to national honour and advantage.

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